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ABSTRACT

In reviewing and analyzing the World Bank's "Education Sector Policy Paper" of April 1980, the author concentrates, first, on the report's description of worldwide issues and trends in educational development and, second, on the report's assessment of past and future World Bank lending for educational programs. The discussion of worldwide issues and trends examines the relationship between education and development, equal educational opportunity, education and work, the need for educational research, educational costs and financing, and the management of external aid to education. In his treatment of World Bank support for education, the author covers the problems of economic growth without redistribution, World Bank priorities and concerns in education, the expansion of basic education, the delayed impact of educational programs, the advantages of nonformal over formal education, and the need for a flexible World Bank lending policy in education. The essay's conclusion stresses the size and potential impact of World Bank loans. Two appendices compare the activities of the World Bank and the International Institute for Educational Planning and provide an annotated list of 25 World Bank studies on education. (RW)

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EDUCATION IN THE 1980s: WORLD BANK PERSPECTIVES -THE MYTH AND THE REALITY -

S.N. Saraf

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INTRODUCTION

The University of London Institute of Education convened a Seminar from 4-6 June 1980, of educationists, economists, sociologists, administrators and development planners from Third World countries and developed nations to discuss the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper, April 1980. I was invited to participate in the Seminar both in my personal capacity and as a representative of the IIEP.

Dr. Aklilu Habte, Director of the Education Department, World Bank, set the ball rolling by his lucid and well-argued exposition on 4 June 1980, when he spoke on "Education for Development in the Eighties - the World Bank's Role", in the Jeffery Hall of the Institute of Education. His comprehensive survey set the right tone for the deliberations of the Seminar.

A brief note containing my preliminary reflections on the World Bank Sector Policy Paper was circulated in the Seminar. These reflections were based, not on text-book knowledge but on my 35 years of direct experiences in the areas of educational research, teaching, planning and administration at the national and international levels. The present paper (1) is an extension of my earlier note and a further elaboration of some major areas of concern to the Third World countries. This paper does not make any presumption of having covered several aspects of the elaborate World Bank document, which, as I stated in the course of the London Seminar, "covered in a mini-way everything under the sun and above earth in the field of educational development and had a quality of being all things to all men". A serious study of this very important document, which will have far-reaching implications for project formulation in the eighties to policy planners of the Third World countries, is therefore recommended.

I would like to express my gratitude to the University of London Institute of Education for the kind invitation to attend the Seminar. This helped in understanding different perspectives of the participants who had rich experience in various disciplines of development and in the sharing of ideas.

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1 The opinions expressed in this paper are personal and do not, in any way, reflect either the official views of the Planning Commission, Government of India, where I hold the substantive post of Educational Adviser, or of the IIEP, Paris, where I am currently working as a Senior Consultant.

I would be failing in my duty if I did not offer my sincere thanks to Prof. Debeauvais, Director of the IIEP for facilitating my participation in the Seminar and encouraging me to share my views on this important subject with development planners. It was mainly his persuasion which prompted me to elaborate further on my earlier and hurried comments; though it meant hard work, analysing the available mass of material and data for supporting evidence, and presenting my reflections in a coherent manner, the result has been highly rewarding.

Prof. Debeauvais also caused the revised reflections to be discussed at a Round Table on "Education and Development" held at Senlis, France from 6-8 October 1980, which was attended by, among others, about 40 educational planners from about 35/40 countries, currently participating in the advanced training course at the IIEP, and most of them directly involved in World Bank Education Projects in their own countries. The views expressed in this paper were not only endorsed by the Round Table, but, in certain cases, strongly reinforced.

This paper is a modest attempt at presenting either side of the fence - it is hoped to stimulate further thinking among educational planners and managers within and outside the World Bank. The World Bank deserves heartiest congratulations for bringing out a progressive and forward-looking document.

It is hoped that the major implications will be operationalised in full collaboration with the expertise of the Third World countries, Unesco and other international organizations and that there will be a continuous review and appraisal of programme implementation and policy issues. It is a myth to believe that there can be long-term solutions to developmental problems; those who think so are far from reality. This, then, is the theme of my paper.

S.N. Saraf
I.I.E.P.
21 October 1980

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Section 1

PROFILE PRESENTATION

1. Bell Panel. At the outset, it may be mentioned that the World Bank approach to and priorities in education during the eighties, as adequately reflected in their Education Sector Policy Paper, April 1980, stem mainly from an in-depth diagnosis of the current situation in the Third World. Apart from the feedback of continuous appraisal of its projects, the Bank had also the benefit of the Bell Panel Report (2) submitted to it towards the end of 1978. The Advisory Panel comprising many eminent educationists, economists and development planners from developing and developed countries, was set up in late 1977. It was asked to carry out a review of the current status of education particularly in the developing world and consider its actual and potential impact on promoting development and meeting basic needs. Against this background, the Panel was asked to evaluate the Bank's past and current activities in education and training, policy and research and to make recommendations about the future operations of the Bank, especially in relation to education and training. Ten months of intensive discussions with knowledgeable persons and experts within and outside the World Bank, study of voluminous materials and studies, and field visits, helped the Panel to make detailed recommendations after a critical review of the situation. Thus the Bell Panel Report should be treated as a companion volume to the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper. It contains a voluminous wealth of material contributing extensively to the firming-up of the approach and priorities contained in the Education Sector Policy Paper.

2. World Development Report 1980. Another significant document (3) is the Bank's Third World Development Report, discussing the economic policy changes facing both developing and richer countries and the implications of these choices for growth; reviewing other ways to reduce poverty, focussing on human development. Human development, education and training, better health and nutrition, and fertility re-education, it has been indicated, are important not only in alleviating poverty directly, but also in increasing the incomes of the poor, and GNP growth as well. The Section on Education in this Report, even though brief (about eight pages), is

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2 Report of the External Advisory Panel on Education to the World Bank, 31 October 1978.

3 World Development Report 1980, Washington, D.C., The World Bank, August 1980.

stimulating; providing the rationale and philosophy of educational development as an integral component of human development (in its comprehensive sense) and also as a basis of struggle against poverty and underdevelopment. The following extract from this Report sums up the main philosophy of the World Bank thrust in education in the eighties:

> "A decade or two ago, there was a widespread view that trained people were the key to development. Universal literacy was a political objective in many countries, but money spent on primary schooling was often regarded as diverted from activities that would have contributed more to economic growth. Planners favoured the kinds of secondary and higher education that directly met the "manpower" requirements of the modern sector. People who worked with their hands were thought not to have much need of formal education ... over the past decade, views have changed substantially. Adequate provision of secondary and higher education remains an important priority. But the value of general education at the primary level is now more widely recognised" (page 46).

It would be worth-while for development planners to study the section on education in this report along with the Education Sector Policy Paper; it provides the philosophical parameters for the operational implications suggested in the Sector document.

3. The Education Sector Policy Paper, April 1980, has ten chapters (4) in all with eighteen meaningful appendices including a detailed selected bibliography. Educational development planners can ill afford to miss a study of the voluminous materials and data contained in the Paper. The first seven chapters deal with:

a) Relationship between education and development,

b) The state of educational development - objectives and modes of delivery,

c) Expanding and equalising education opportunities,

d) Internal efficiency of education systems,

e) Education and work,

f) Administration and management of education systems, and

g) Costs and finance.

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4 In its presentation, treatment and analysis of important areas of educational policies and programmes, the April 1980 document is a marked improvement on the Education Sector Working Paper issued by the Bank in December 1974.

They cover 72 pages or 74 per cent of the 97 page document. These chapters are devoted to an in-depth diagnosis of the current educational scene backed by facts and hard data, and are based on several analytical studies (5) within and outside the Bank: this has positively helped the Bank in redrawing its future policies in a realistic manner. It is an indication that the policy perspectives developed by the World Bank have not been drawn from a high pedestal but are based on a critical evaluation of the current world educational scene. Perhaps the time has come when some of the significant assessment and review missions reports available in the archives of the Bank in large numbers, could be made available in a summarised form to researchers, planners and administrators. These studies need to reflect on the current policies and practices, in the form of state-of-art papers, without making any references to particular projects and specific countries. This kind of material would be of immense value to the practitioners of the art and craft of educational planning and administration in developing countries, who have a well-founded allergy to studying growth models having no relevance to their situations. The last three chapters on:

a) External aid to education,

b) Review of World Bank's policies on programmes in lending to education,

c) Future policies and programmes of the World Bank,

refer mainly to questions relating to imbalances in the distribution of foreign aid, implications of multiple-aid agencies' lack of collaboration, an analysis of the Bank's past lending programme, assessment of its impact and outcomes on educational developments and projections of World Bank's perspectives of aid in the eighties.

4. Thus while the first seven chapters present main issues and trends in major sectors of educational development, the last three chapters concentrate on a critical review of the past lending policies and future perspectives of the Bank's support to educational programmes within the context of overall aid to education. Section 2 of this paper reflects on some major issues raised in the first seven chapters and Section 3 analyses some critical areas having a bearing on perspectives presented in the last three chapters.

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5 A list of some of these studies, brought out by the World Bank, pertaining to Education, may be seen in Appendix B.

Section 2

THE DILEMMA: INTROSPECTION AND ANALYSIS

5. This section reflects on selected aspects of the dilemma of current educational malady brought out in the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper, April 1980.

6. Relationship between education and development. The analysis made and conclusions drawn are unexceptional. In fact all plan documents emphasise the role of education in promoting socio-economic development. But what actually happens, at the time of allocation of funds, is that the so-called productive sectors such as irrigation, power, industry etc., get high priority. It is assumed that these sectors lead to economic growth; in the earlier phases of plan formulation, the financiers and donors insisted on this. Education is assumed to be a long-term investment which can be deferred, for some time, to provide for short-gestation sectors. Further, because of waste within the education sector, which has been continuing in one form or the other, it is always argued that further investment will produce more waste.

7. Again within the sector of education, in the developing countries, the prestigious projects of secondary and higher education get priority as they become symbols of status. One suspects, from a study of Table 8 of the World Bank Education 1974 document (page 51) and Table 7 of the April 1980 Sector Paper (p.80) that in the case of World Bank projects as well, a similar shift in priorities seems to have taken place. This is reflected in Table 1.

While the distribution of lending for education, by level, for the period 1963-78 indicates a slight increase in aid for primary and non-formal education and an insignificant decrease in support for higher education, a careful study of the Table 1 would indicate that the allocations for primary education (columns 3 and 4). It is true that the allocation years are somewhat different and non-formal education is not indicated, as a separate level, in the 1974 document, but the evidence seems to be somewhat obvious. One would like to be proved incorrect if actual figures became available.

8. Who does not know, as stated in the Sector Paper, that "more education opportunities in rural areas, for instance, would promote equity", but still more credits are provided to big farmers; small farmers are left high and dry. Likewise, education expands but without touching the population which is underprivileged and does not reach the unreached.

TABLE 1

Distribution of lending for education by levels

(per cent)

World Bank 1974 Document Levels	1963-71 (Act)	1972-74 (Act)	1974-78 (Proj)	World Bank Sector 1980 Document Levels	1963-69	1970-74	1975-78
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Primary & Basic	5	11	27	Primary	-	5	14
Intermediate	72	48	43	Secondary	84	50	43
Higher	23	41	30	Higher	12	40	26
Non-Formal					4	5	17
	100	100	100		100	100	100

9. The most significant statement made is that education should not be thought of "only as a 'sector' of development - parallel, for example, to agriculture or industry - but as a pervasive element that must be integrated - horizontally and vertically - into all development efforts". This is laudable and, as stated earlier, written in almost all plan documents; but back at home, the compartmentalisation of developmental sectors continues, even at the village level. What are the solutions? What is tragic is that, within the education sector, the secondary education department is generally unaware of what is happening in the primary education sector; the higher education bosses are too high to stoop low to have a look at what is happening at the base. Are decentralisation, deconcentration, debureaucratisation, the answers? If so, how can it be done in isolation only for the education sector? One has to come down from platitudes to practicalities.

10. <u>The State of educational development:</u> A strong reference should have been made to the role which over-planning - and that too at the macro-level - plays in weakening the initiative of administration and management at the local and mini- micro-levels. There is hardly any monitoring and evaluation and, if there is any, feedback in terms of programme reformulation is poor or even absent. There is too much preoccupation with the art and craft of targetry and financial budgeting. The planning and management cadres are not professionalised.

11. A sobering warning, clearly and convincingly stated, is that, at the current rate of development, the achievement of universal primary education even by the year 2001 - mostly for the lower, lower middle,

intermediate middle, and upper middle income group of countries - will be a distant dream. In India in 1960, out of the total population of 206 million in the age group 6-11, only 97 million were enrolled and 109 million (or 53 per cent) were out of school. In 1975, out of the total population of 314 million in the same age-group, 194 million were enrolled leaving 120 million (or 38 per cent) still not enrolled. The number of children attending is far less. As with the increase among illiterates, the number of non-enrolled children has been increasing. With this stark reality, is it ever possible to achieve universal primary education even by 2001?

The situation becomes complex when enrolment ratios at the primary level reach between 60 and 70. The rock bottom, which is the resistant-to-education group, is reached. The growth-curve then becomes almost a plateau.

12. Five major issues facing educational development, namely lack of progress in universal literacy (aggravated by population and pupil "explosion"), inefficient educational system leading to drop-outs etc., external inefficiency in terms of lack of appropriate employment, inability to manage educational enterprise efficiently, and constraint of resources (6) will continue in the third world countries in spite of many recipes suggested, as long as the basic issues in development remain unresolved.

13. Expanding and equalising educational opportunities. The World Bank should have raised fundamental questions. Why are the exercises in school mapping and location of institutions, according to well-designed educational surveys and scientifically-defined norms, generally not helpful in spreading education, even though expenditures have increased substantially, more teachers have been appointed, and additional institutions established? Dr. Peter Williams in his paper has stated that:

> "the statement that school location planning "assures the equitable and efficient distribution of resources across the country" (page 27 in the Sector Paper) is overoptimistic, since it is only too obvious that it may assure nothing of the sort unless "pupil recruitment planning" (a horrible phrase, but its meaning, I hope, is clear) is also introduced." (7)

Often education plans are designed in such a manner that more teachers are employed in areas where they are not required, and vice versa: it leads to concentration and duplication of facilities, while rural and far-flung

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6 One country in West Africa is providing 33 per cent of its budget for education and the enrolment ratio at the primary level is only 35 per cent: one major reason is that French standards are being adopted strictly in terms of salaries of teachers and specifications of building norms, teacher-pupil ratio etc., even though per capita income is nowhere near the French standards!

7 "Education in Developing Countries: Halfway to the Styx" by Peter Williams, University of London, Institute of Education - paper presented at the Seminar on the World Bank Educational Sector Policy, London, June 1980.

areas suffer. Location of infrastructures in places nearer to political power, creates various sociological and ecological problems, leading to various kinds of disparities. Such problems should be studied in depth, which could lead to a number of research studies. (8) Further, the World Bank assumption that only "the last 5 - 10 per cent of students remaining to be enrolled will be most difficult to secure" is not generally correct. The "resistant-to-education" group, mostly belonging to poorer sections of the population, form 30-40 per cent and that is why generally in developing countries the enrolment curve after reaching 60-65 per cent enrolment ratios becomes almost flat - it takes many, many years to reach 90 per cent enrolment ratios. The hard core is about 40 per cent of the primary education age group which belong to the population below the poverty line.

14. To illustrate a concrete case, in India, the gross enrolment (9) ratios (enrolment in classes I-VIII as a percentage of the population in the age-group 6-14) rose from 32.8 in 1950-51 to 61.3 in 1965-66 i.e., in a period of 15 years; during the next 13 years, i.e. 1966-79, it had crawled painfully to 66 per cent. Figure 1 indicates the growth in gross enrolment ratios for the total elementary stage, and separately for two stages of primary and middle which, in India, comprise the elementary stage of education conforming to Article 45 of the Constitution of India 1950, which stipulated that "the State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."
In both the stages - primary and middle - the growth in the first fifteen years, as will be seen from Figure 1, has been extremely good (not what the Constitution had laid down) - but then the resistant-to- education group phenomenon has started operating.

15. Moving from the macro to the micro-levels the position in two States (one small-size with a population of 4.6 million, another a fair-size with a population of 44.3 million according to the 1971 census) is shown for the years 1961-76, a period of 15 years, in Figure 2. In both cases, the macro-level phenomenon is being repeated. Both these States are below the national average gross enrolment ratios. It is not as if the proportion of the education budget for elementary education is not increasing. In the case of one State, it increased from 21.9 per cent in 1968/69 to 35.6 per cent in 1978/79; the other State devotes about 40 per cent of education

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8 India initiated detailed educational surveys of each and every habitation in the country from 1957 and since then three massive educational survey have been conducted. A few studies indicated that the setting up of new institutions has no relationship with the findings of the educational surveys and school mapping; teachers are sanctioned and appointed without any reference to enrolments etc. This is the case with many developing countries. The intention is not to run down the scientific approach of educational surveys and school mapping exercises but to examine why technically sound and professionally scientific advice is disregarded at the time of implementation.

9 In developing countries including India, average attendance is about 70 per cent of enrolment, except in urban and high-density areas.

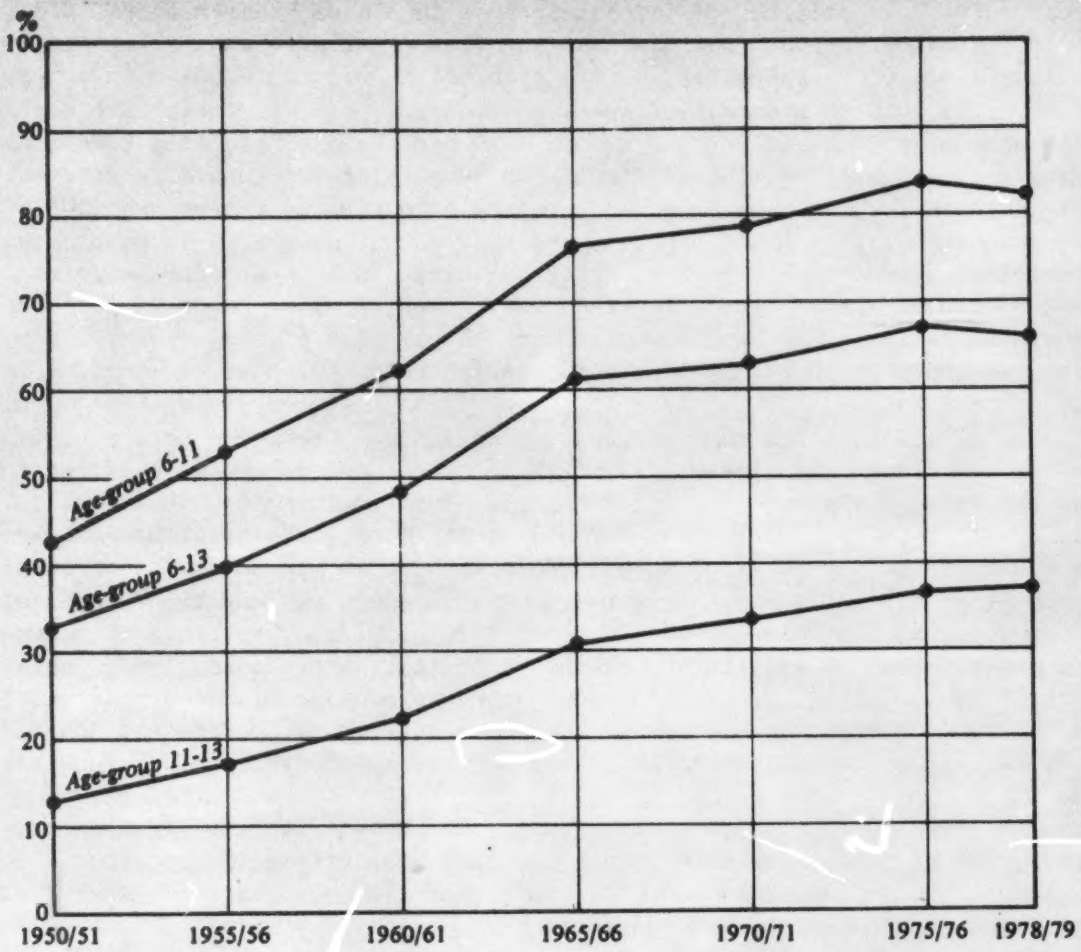

Figure 1: India: Gross enrolment rates of children aged 6-13 and separately for age-group 6-11 and 11-13

budget to elementary education. Actually, the proportion in both cases would be higher because a large number of secondary schools have middle and primary sections and classes: expenditure on these is booked under the heading "secondary education".

16. A recent study (10) conducted by the author, indicates that in India, even in the year of grace 2001, according to present trends of development, there will still be 10 children out of 100 in the age-group 6-14 who will not be enrolled in schools. This seems to be optimistic. The enrolment statistics, as stated above, are misleading; they do not indicate the actual attendance rates! In many developing countries attendance ratios are about 70% of the enrolment ratios. According to this

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10 Saraf, S.N. Literacy in a non-literacy milieu - the Indian Scenario, IIEP Research Report No.36, Paris, International Institute for Educational Planning, October 1980.

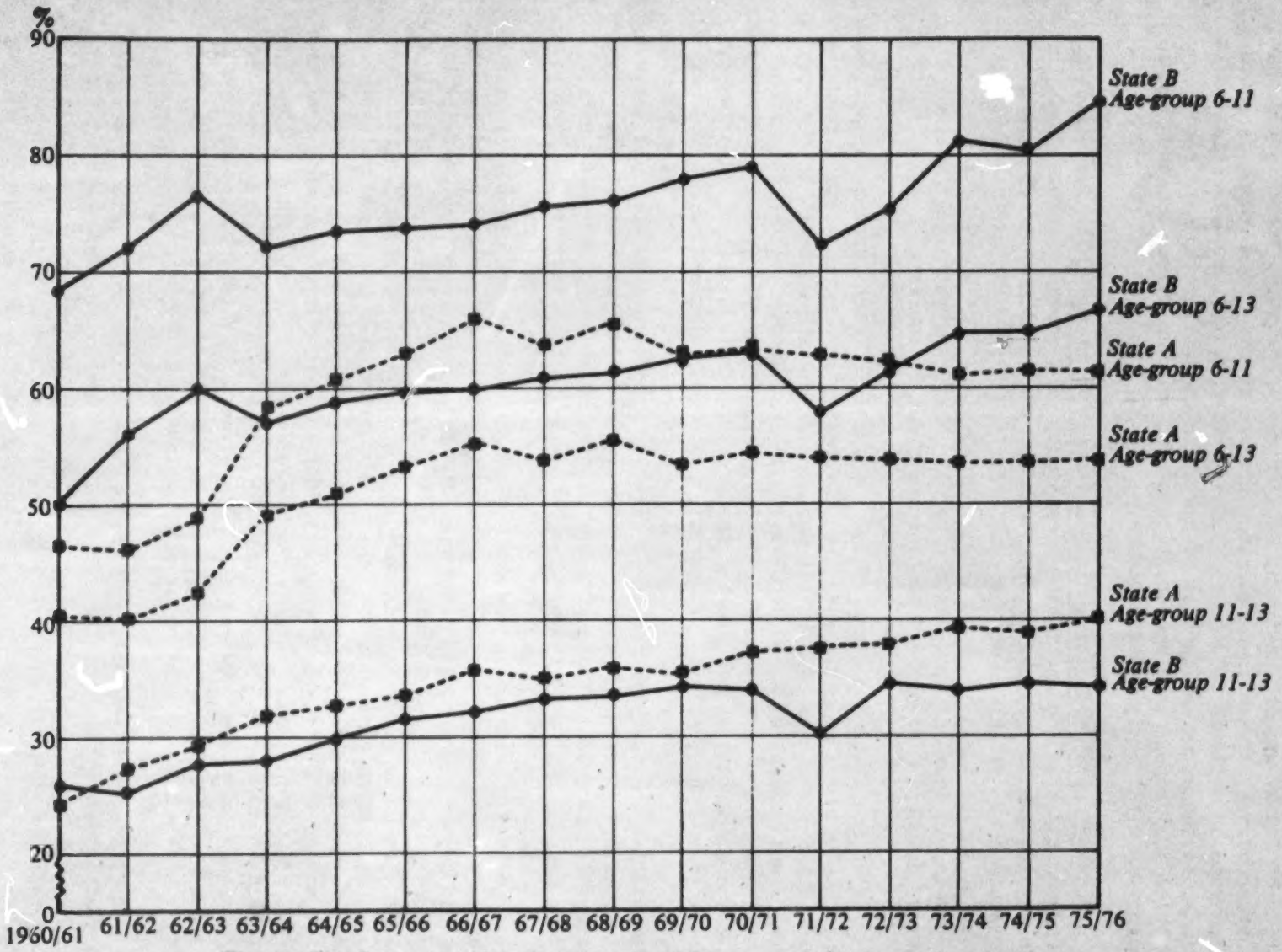

Figure 2: Gross enrolment rate of children aged 6-13 in elementary education age-group 6-11 and 11-13 - States A and B

assumption, about 20 out of 100 children may not be in schools in India in the elementary education age-group in 2001. One would not hesitate to observe that the situation will be almost similar in the neighbouring countries of India, namely, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal. There is a closer correspondence between the reduction in poverty and improvement in retention rate of children in schools. The World Bank will have to raise questions, as indicated earlier, as to how their aid will be able to reduce the problem of 'drop- outs' and 'fall-outs' and whether these are amenable to solutions with foreign assistance only.

17. Internal Efficiency of Educational Systems. The prescription proposed is based on realistic diagnosis. One could only hope that the World Bank lending policy follows strictly the guidelines in directing the possible areas of reform in the developing countries. It may be desirable, even at this stage, to watch the progress of current World Bank Education Projects, in terms of excellent criteria, very comprehensively spelled out in the document. Ex-post-facto evaluation may be too late.

18. Education and work. The diagnosis of the current situation, together with the possible remedies suggested, are superb. Apart from the general reorientation of whole educational systems suggested in the document, what requires to be emphasised is the impact of general economic development on education and work. Tempering the "inflation" of qualifications and increasing job opportunities may be non-educational remedies but are keys to the problem. A general review of national income and wages policies is required with a view to a reduction in the existing glaring disparities in wages between the modern and traditional sectors and between clerical and technical jobs; between white-collar and blue-collar jobs. This will immediately have a direct impact by reducing entry to institutions whose job is only to award degrees - a positive step in the direction of delinking degrees from employment. Job specifications have to be related to the minimum required education and wages to job specifications rather than to credentials. Degrees will lose their charm, and can be earned by the beneficiary bearing an increasing share of the cost of his education as he advances within the system, on a part-time or own-time basis. There is no doubt that more jobs need to be created by a shift from a highly capital-intensive system of production to a more labour-intensive one. This calls for improving rural infra-structure or, as the World Bank have stated innocently but correctly "allocating a large proportion of the country's development budget for job-creating activities". Jobs are created - no one bothers whether they are productive or non-productive. Since this is simpler and easier to do, it is done, but rationalisation of wages and incomes policy is not touched because it is difficult and explosive. Therefore the vicious circle continues.

19. The educational prescription suggested by the World bank to meet the situation sems to be basd on a realistic assessment of the current situation. The Bank deserves to be congratulated for understandably belittling the role of 'vocationalisation' as it is understood in the common educational parlance - introducing vocational streams or courses in general secondary schools. These experiments have not succeeded in spite of heavy investments; the alternatives suggested in the Bank document deserve serious attention.

20. Administration and management of educational systems. The emphasis, and rightly so, is on development of research and experimentation capabilities. What is important, however, is the promotion of institutional frameworks where such capabilities can be fostered. The training needs for planning, administration and evaluation require not only to be emphasised but even identified, in consultation with Member States. The World Bank may have to develop some concrete strategy so that international and national institutions could be helped either directly or through the governments concerned to develop research and training capacities. Improving planning and research capacities in the area of education in member countries has been ably and convincingly stressed by World Bank. How this can be done is the moot problem. The World Bank perhaps cannot assist institutions of Member States directly; it has to be done through the governments. It is therefore necessary to identify such institutions within the countries and provide assistance according to certain norms and in relation to specific programmes. In the field of educational planning, administration and evaluation the IIEP, Paris, could assist in institution identification. In many cases the IIEP, because of its autonomous and international character and with grants from World Bank, should be able to finance some pivotal research projects of these institutions and support their training capabilities in terms of training key-level planners, administrators and evaluators. The World Bank will have to consider this possibility with all seriousness. The modalities need to be worked out early and by a competent body of experts as the subject is so very important.

21. Another thought needs to be shared with the World Bank. It is known that the expenditure on education, in many developing countries, represents 3 to 5 per cent of the gross national product (G.N.P.). But do they know that the expenditure on administration (including planning and statistics) is hardly 1 to 2 per cent of the total expenditure on education; that this has never or hardly increased; and that the result is that the administrative personnel are overworked - they have time for nothing as they are asked to do everything. The National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, India, carried out, in collaboration with 22 State Governments and some major Union Territories, an in-depth study of educational administration and the findings are interesting. These studies give an insight into the work-load of the administrators, the nature of their duties and the contribution which they are able to give towards making educational reform a success. Educational planning seems to be nobody's business - it is confused, or at least mixed up, with collection of statistics and preparation of reports. The World Bank have rightly referred to a high turnover of staff. It is happening at all levels. For instance, if some serious research student were to take up a study of the extent of the turnover of high-level staff, at the planning and policy level, in the Central Ministry of Education in India and in the State Governments to find out the extent of turnover, the results would be interesting. Does this contribute to any continuity and accountability and development of professional cadres? This is an area which needs to be studied in order to assess whether the Third World countries have developed managing and planning capabilities in the field of education.

22. Need for futuristic studies: The World Bank have referred to one of their studies (p. 57) which has shown that though many countries have

introduced massive educational reforms there were several reasons for their failure. One major reason was because "of a lack of understanding of the nature of educational change and its relationship with the socio-economic environment". This is a significant statement. Socio-economic environments change sometimes as a result of scientific-technological development; the education sector does not take note of the warning signals because these are not sounded in advance. Thus, the educational system is always many steps behind the scientific-technological advances and, therefore, becomes irrelevant. The World Bank have further observed significantly that "an awareness of the factors that influence educational reform would enable planners to assess the feasibility of their proposals and revise the scope of reform accordingly. Small changes often create new opportunities for more change. In the long run, it is the ability to continue introducing specific innovations and changes that matters." (Page 57). This inevitably calls for futuristic studies drawing the attention of educational planners and managers to various changes in curriculum designing, teaching-learning methodologies, media redesigning, planning and administration, etc., required as a result of prospective change in the socio-economic environment. After all, it has to be borne in mind that the products of primary schools today will be entering the labour market only after 10 to 15 years. Paradoxically enough, we still design our educational reforms, strategies and innovations on the basis of current analysis. No wonder we are harping on 'vocationalisation' to be introduced in general schools, especially in secondary schools, to solve the problem of educated unemployment in the coming decade! The concept of vocationalisation is not clear. It means many things to many people. The slogan is there. Some call vocationalisation, "vocalisation". A number of such instances could be cited. One completely agrees with Dr. Paul Hurst (11) when he says that:

> "In education, perhaps no more than a few hundred key agency and ministry officials, plus some scores of highly influential acedemic advisers, form a tightly-knit and inward-looking network which decides the reform agenda for most of the developing world. Thus it is possible for one economist - superbly articulate and well-connected - to be a principal animateur of the global infatuation with educational television at one period, and of the subsequent 'hooh-hah' about non-formal education some years later."

23. It is often said, and that too sarcastically, that the future is in the hands of God. This is a "policy of escapism" which, like the proverbial ostrich, refuses to see the coming storm by burying its head in the sand. The result is that the storm buries the ostrich deep in the sand. It may, therefore, be advisable for the World Bank to sponsor a few futuristic studies in education within overall development in selected countries, pool the results of these studies and then disseminate them for follow-up action. These studies will have many lessons and help in understanding the nature of educational change and its relationship with the

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11 Hurst, Paul: "Some issues in improving the quality of education", Paper for the Seminar on the World Bank Education Policy Paper, University of London Institute of Education, June 1980.

emerging socio-economic environment. This is relevant for developing nations, who have many miles to go to reach their goals of economic growth with social justice.

24. The author has had the fortune (or misfortune) of watching the rise and fall of many an educational reform in India, due to a number of reasons including the one given by Dr. Paul Hurst. The only reform which succeeded in India was a rise in the salary of university teachers involving spending of money. Expenditure of money is very easy, especially when it is someone else's. Expenditure of thought is rather difficult, as it means hard work. In the formulation of educational reform the teacher, the learner, the community, the consumer of the educational products, the professional educationist, have the least say. Why so? This is a matter for research and study. How long should we go on tinkering with the system?

25. Cost and finance. The present position has been stated admirably. Among others, a system of fees and loans, balanced by scholarships has been suggested as a means of finding additional resources. In principle this is laudable. However, there are many difficulties. Firstly it may be mentioned that the bulk of the expenditure in developing countries (about 40-50%) is on primary education. No government can afford to suggest this measure, as it will go against the fundamental right to education - free compulsory primary education. Secondly, in the sector of higher education, where it could play some role, there is terrible resistance to this measure, especially from first-generation students. In India, all Five Year Plans have mentioned this as a source of financing of education but all the time it is found that, at the implementation level, there is resistance. There are strikes and demonstrations - forcing governments to reduce fees. The rate of fees in the University of Delhi, at present, is almost the same as it was in 1950 in spite of the high rise in living costs! No-one dares suggest an increase in fees. The Draft Five Year Plan, 1978-83, in its report of April 1978 makes an interesting suggestion about the establishment of a dualistic structure of fees. It says:

> "Even in the reduced formal education system it is essential to establish the principle that subsidised college education is a right only of a limited number of qualified students coming from low income households. Therefore, a dualistic structure of fees needs to be established. Deserving low-income students' tuition, residence and other expenses can be subsidised or even fully borne by the State subject to an upper limit on the number supported. But middle and upper income students should bear an increasing part of the cost of their college education. To help the middle class households finance the college education of their children, commercial banks should consider setting up an educational loan system."

To some extent, this kind of dualistic system operates but there is need for its universal acceptance and application. The December 1979 version of the Draft Sixth Five Year Plan reiterates the need for mobilisation of additional resources from other sources such as charging development fees at the secondary stage for financing programmes relating to work experience, teaching of science, school buildings, equipment, etc. It goes on to

recommend that "fees need to be charged at rates which bear a reasonable relationship with the cost of providing education". The Report further observes, when it discusses financing of higher education: "It is completely illogical that those affluent sections of society who pay very high fees for the school education of their children, should make the public exchequer pay for higher education. Therefore, the policy regarding fees which has been suggested for secondary education will have to be more firmly instituted in higher education." But who cares? Educational financing in India initially developed as a multi-source system; the Government is taking an increasingly commanding position in this respect since Independence. The non-Governmental sources consist of fes, endowments, donations and voluntary contributions. Their proportion to total expenditure is decreasing over the years from 43 per cent in 1950-51 to 29 per cent in 1965-66 and to about 21 per cent in 1977-78.

26. Perhaps one of the alternatives is to encourage non-formal education, which emphasises correspondence courses, distance learning on part-time or own-time basis offering a variety of job-oriented curricula, with greater flexibility in respect of completion time, age of admission and multiple entry. This shift would reduce the load on the formal day-time education system, enable youths and adults to upgrade their knowledge at any time according to their situation and requirements and reduce the cost of subsidy to university education. In India, evening and correspondence course have proved to be extremely popular and self-financing; their efficiency, however, requires to be improved.

27. The World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper has done yeoman service to developing countries by bringing out the hard fact that:

> "the financial implications of enrolment by levels of education projected by Unesco for 1985 - goals that scarcely provide universal basic education - are that the GNP of developing countries must grow at least 7 per cent a year to keep the share of education in GNP at 1975 levels. This is highly unlikely as judged from trends between 1960 and 1975, when the average annual rate of growth of GNP of developing countries was 2.8 per cent in low-income countries and 3.4 per cent in middle-income countries." (Page 70)

The World Bank assumes that the extent to which a country can increase expenditures on education without affecting other priorities will depend on the socio-political conditions of individual countries. The reality is that even if socio-political conditions in individual countries are highly favourable for investment in education, it just cannot be done if the norms of expenditure continue to be based on the existing full-time, formal, sequential, dysfunctional system of education and especially when revenue resources are not increasing to the same extent as the present inefficient and irrelevant formal system of education. The cost and finance experts of the formal system of education will have to examine new paths and suggest alternatives to help Third World countries in developing realistic models of educational financing and expenditures. It would be realistic not to ape the norms of developed countries. Appropriate cost (not 'low cost') patterns will have to be evolved. The preoccupation with 'cost-benefit

analysis' studies which seem to be of some interest to a few persons in the academic world is unnecessary because the results cannot be fed back into policy formulation. Everyone knows that investment in primary education - or for that matter in adult literacy - is capable of giving higher and immediate returns, but those very persons who publish these results, after analysing hard facts and data in University research departments, see to it that larger allocations are provided for higher education and mass education programmes are left high and dry. Primary education and adult literacy have never been "time bombs".

28. External aid to education. Facts have been presented indicating the growth of both bilateral and multilateral aid (including grants, loans and credits) to education between 1970 and 1975 and the assistance of private non-profit funding. Though the tendency for the multiplicity of agencies giving aid for almost similar purposes in certain countries has been deplored, the developing countries are advised to evolve policies for co-ordination of external assistance. Yet there are some countries which encourage various donor agencies to finance educational development programmes in different geographical units of the country and vice versa. Thus there is a sort of competitiveness and lack of co-ordination. In many countries several aid-giving agencies operate in the same geographical area and sometimes provide assistance for almost identical projects.

Section 3

THE DEAL : PRESCRIPTION AND PERSPECTIVES

29. Growth to redistributive justice: During the last three decades or so the preoccupation in the developing countries, because of the insistence of various donor and aid-giving agencies, has been on achieving growth rates, increasing national income and the GDP, and that too at the macro levels. Excellent sophisticated techniques and models were developed on the basis of questionable assumptions and in centrally air-conditioned buildings. These models could not work. It is only now realised that growth, without redistributive justice, has led the developing world up the garden path. Programmes relating to minimum needs were always under-rated and therefore under-provided, creating imbalances and inequities. Thus, for instance, the benefits of the Green Revolution, although it has increased agricultural production and made India, to some extent, self-sufficient in food, have not immediately percolated to those who are landless. Some serious-minded persons, therefore, ask "How green is the Green Revolution?" The benefits have accrued to only a small segment of the population. The Green Revolution in India "has concentrated landholdings and doubled the proportion of landless labourers", while the main beneficiaries of Operation Flood have been urban consumers. These questions are being asked with all seriousness. How can growth take place in an economy where 40 per cent of the population is living below the poverty line? Education is one of the basic minimum needs which plays a positive role in equalising opportunities and has a direct impact on redistributive justice, and touches the poorer segments of the population if principles of equity are strictly followed. It is encouraging to note that the World Bank has realised these implications now, and given priority to education and training programmes in the allocation of its resources.

30. World Bank priority to education. The World Bank adopts three channel funding principles for education and training programmes: the first channel through direct loans to the education sector to enlarge or improve opportunities for education and training, the second channel through loans to other sectors, such as power and transportation which include education and training components (project related-training) and the third channel through loans to integrated projects spread across several sectors (especially urban and rural development) which include components for expanding

educational activities within the project area ("education components") (12). Table 2 provides an overall view of Bank's total and education lending since 1970 and what is projected during the period 1979-83. The table reveals the following trends:

a) During the next five years, the Bank is expected to allocate to education and training, an average annual amount of $905 million representing about 8 per cent of total lending in the Bank. The welcome development which can be observed is that while the total bank lending during 1979/83 will increase by 69 per cent over 1975/78, in the case of Education and Training Sector it will increase by 119 per cent. These allocations and priorities indicate the World Bank's well-intentioned concern for promoting educational programmes in Third World countries. Sometimes one starts wondering how the World Bank fixes the proportion of allocation for the education sector. Is it based on the findings of some research studies or on the aggregates of the proposals received within the Bank? But still three cheers to the World Bank for higher allocation to education! This stems from the World Bank realisation that "economic returns on investment in education seem to exceed returns on alternative kinds of investment, and that developing countries realise greater returns than the more advanced ones."

b) During the two earlier lending periods, as shown in Table 2, the priority to education did not change materially but, during the current lending period, there is a considerable step-up. It is assumed that, during the succeeding periods, this priority will be not only maintained but considerably stepped up.

c) Though lending to the education sector will increase, for the first time there will be a considerable step-up in the areas of project-related components of training and education components in urban and rural development projects. This is a recognition of a vital area, which can considerably supplement the efforts of the pure education sector programme. This is also the result of realization that developmental sectors other than education have a significant contribution to make in human resource development. One would like a similar picture emerging within the plans of developing countries. The "splendid isolation" of the Education Department to deliver all the educational goods through its own institutions and programmes has to end. The earlier the better. The implications are obvious. While the Education Departments have been putting all their eggs in the

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12 The Bank draws a terminological distinction between "loans" and "credits", the former being financed on standard bank terms and the latter on International Development Association (IDA) terms. There is no significant difference in the way that projects in the two categories are processed by the Bank. Loans from the IDA, the Bank's soft loan affiliate, are called "credits". Typically, IDA "credits" are made available to very poor developing countries for a period of 50 years, with 10 years of grace before repayments of principal begin. The credits carry no interest other than an annual service charge of 0.75 per cent to cover administrative costs. A list of the projects, the countries where these are implemented, amounts involved, source of financing, may be seen on pages 127-140 of the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper.

TABLE 2

Average annual lending for education and training by World Bank. 1970-83

(in million U.S.dollars)

Items	1970-74 (Act.)	1975-78 (Act.)	1979-83 (Proj.)	Percentage increase in 1979-83 over 1975-78
1	2	3	4	5
Total Bank lending(1)	3,076	6,846	11,580	69
Loans and credits to education sector(2)	163	281	600	114
(1)as percentage of(2)	5.3	4.0	5.2	
Project-related components of training(3)	6.5a	93b	205	120
Education components in urban and rural development projects(4)	-	38c	100d	163
Total lending for education and training(5) (2+3+4)	169.5	412	905	119
(5)as percentage of(1)	5.5	6.0	7.8	

- data not available
a 1972 only
b Average for 1976-78
c 1977 only
d 1.5 percent of urban lending and 0.5 percent of lending for agriculture and rural development

educational goods through its own institutions and programmes has to end. The earlier the better. The implications are obvious. While the Education Departments have been putting all their eggs in the formal education sector basket, a time has come to get weaned away from the idea that formal education alone is an answer to the huge problem of human resource development. There are other sectors of development having education and training components but not being recognised or encouraged.

31. The World Bank's emphasis on providing larger support to educational components of rural and urban development projects is welcome. From Table 2 it is observed that there will be a considerable step-up in this area for the first time. As it is, there are a large number of such projects in almost all developing countries which have education compo-

nents. Over the past decades, outlays on non-formal and informal sectors of education by departments other than education have been increasing (13). In India the National Directorate of Adult Education found (14) that as many as 63 programmes of other departments had educational components which could directly be utilised for literacy and adult education. This kind of identification has to be done in other areas of education and training components in Departments other than Education (15). The formal educationists (with capital F's and E's) have to be stirred out of their slumber to see the vast potential of this unexplored field of education, which is sometimes unutilised or underutilised, but relevant, down-to-earth, and often efficient in terms of use and economy. In many areas, these are practically the sole channels of education for the masses - but are languishing for want of academic and professional support. Efforts should now be concentrated on three major fronts. Firstly, such institutions should be given adequate status and official support so that they gain in prestige and come to be regarded as at least equal to the modern forms of non-formal education. Secondly, it is desirable to give them full academic support. This implies that the academics (with capital A) should seriously start to study them and take an interest in developing them. Thirdly, it would be appropriate to develop them as powerful instruments of modernisation and development. This can be accomplished if their content is radically transformed by including modern science and an appropriate social philosophy of development. One could even claim that if such steps are taken we may be moving towards modernization of the entire social fabric instead of concentrating, as hitherto, on modernising the elites only. However, one important precaution is that there should be perfect collaboration in the programme implementation; otherwise the right hand will not know what the left hand is doing. This calls for area-level planning and development.

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13 In India the total Government expenditure in 1979-80, as stated earlier, was Rs.35,000 million and out of this Rs.6,743 million, about 19 per cent, is expected to be the expenditure of departments, other than education, on education and training. This proportion has been increasing over the years and with the current disaffection and disenchantment with the formal sector of education, which is producing "unemployables", there is a positive trend and definite encouragement to expand the education and training sector of departments, other than Education. (For convenience, it may be noted that one US$ is roughly equal to Rs.7.80. The exchange rate, however, varies from time to time.)

14 Adult education components of the development schemes of the Government of India: a compendium, New Delhi, Directorate of Education, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India, October 1978.

15 One would like to suggest to the World Bank that they might commission the IIEP, with appropriate financial support, to initiate such a study in collaboration with about a dozen developing countries, to begin with. Apart from making contributions to the World Bank's fund of knowledge, this would also orient the IIEP interest in the virgin field of non-formal education.

32. Many countries, like India, have area-specific or problem-specific projects such as Hill Areas Plans, Drought Prone Area Development Programmes, Small and Marginal Farmers Development Agencies, Integrated Tribal Development Plans, Resettlement Projects, Co-operative and Credit Programmes etc. The accent in these projects is on development of physical infrastructures and financial inputs largely related to economic development of the area or a specific target population. Because of the absence of education and training components in these projects, the utilisation of the economic benefits is not optimal and self-reliance becomes a distant, not a distinct, goal. An area which should be of concern to the World Bank is the need for encouraging integrated projects which do not have education components to develop these. This will ensure combination of economic and basic minimum needs. At present, education components do not figure in these projects: training is provided for but not in a big way. The World Bank may have to launch in collaboration with member countries and their specialised institutions the preparation in a few countries of profiles of integrated projects which do not have education and training components. After the preparation of these profiles, it will have to evolve an aid policy.

33. Education is one among the basic minimum needs but within it primary education and adult education should have pre-eminence. For instance, in India, the various components of basic minimum needs are: (1) primary education, (2) adult education, (3) rural health, (4) rural housing, (5) rural water supply, (6) rural electrification (7) rural roads, (8) nutrition, (9) urban slum clearance. These have to be developed in an integrated manner: otherwise disjointed efforts, as in the past, will not make any impact. The Bank will have to bear this in mind and select for support such projects as have the maximum of these components. In fact, the Bank may encourage the developing countries, through dialogue and dissemination of relevant information, the need for an integrated strategy giving preference to such projects in providing necessary financial support. This is an area worth exploring, where World Bank's friendly advice and intervention may promote a series of highly useful innovative educational projects having optimum impact on the poorer sections of the population for whom minimum needs programmes have been devised.

34. Shift in priorities within education: Yet another departure from the old policy is to be welcomed. So far five broad principles - equity, efficiency, expansion of basic educational opportunities, meeting manpower and skill requirements and institutional capacity building - governed the flexible lending policy of the Bank. The new accent is on institutional aspects of educational development, the pervasive role of education in development and the quality of learning. In fact, these principles reflect the real needs of developing nations. Several institutions concerned with educational planning and management at all levels should concretise their programmes of research and training in such a manner that they lend their active support to the operationalization of these general principles. For instance, in more than one way, the IIEP's programmes and activities included in the Medium Term Plan for 1979-83 correspond closely with the broad principles indicated in the Education Sector Policy Paper of the World Bank. In this connection, it may be pertinent to mention that the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper has referred to the identification

of research priorities recently undertaken by the Unesco International Institute of Educational Planning (IIEP) as "providing a framework for cross-national exchange and co-operation" (page 57). This is a welcome observation. Appendix B gives a brief overview of the IIEP Programmes. To serve adequately the requirements of developing countries, the IIEP will, however, have increasingly to shift its emphasis to non-formal sectors of education as well and enable the national level counterpart institutions, which look upon it as a guide, philosopher and friend, to develop appropriate programmes. It is thus that IIEP can make an effective contribution to the implementation of policies enunciated by the World Bank which broadly reflect the aspirations of the developing nations. It is suggested that the World Bank and the I.I.E.P. should develop effective links and identify areas of training, research and studies specifically in the areas of educational planning and administration relevant to developing countries.

35. Areas of concern: The World Bank refers, with conviction, to the reasons for its strong concern for general education, the principal aims of lending for education, the broad principles which will provide the basis for it to promote balanced educational development. The following five broad areas in the field of education have been identified for lending:

a) Expansion of basic education opportunities (both school age and adult population)

b) Equity

c) Efficiency

d) Meeting manpower and skill requirements

e) Developing a capacity for analysis and management in education

36. During the periods 1970-74, 1975-78 and 1979-83 (projected) the average annual lending for Education and Training by World Bank was US$170 million, 412 million and 905 million (projected), respectively. At this stage, one may like to have a look at the priorities which the World Bank has been pursuing since the beginning of its lending programme and what are its perspectives in the beginning of the eighties. To what extent there has been a shift from the elitistic sectors, diversification of interest in the non-conventional areas of management, health and population, increasing emphasis on general institutional development and technical assistance as against earlier concentration on capital investment is clear from Table 3 The conclusions are obvious:

a) Support for primary and non-formal education during 1979-83 will be significant, about 48 per cent as against 31 per cent during 1975-78 and a dismal 10 per cent during 1970-74. This is really commendable and especially when it is noted that the focus on education components in urban and rural development projects will be predominantly on first-level education. It is necessary to break the sequence of the present education system:

TABLE 3

Distribution of lending for education 1963-83+ (per cent)

Distribution	1963-69	1970-74	1975-78	1979-83 (Proj.)
By Level:				
Primary	-	5	14	24
Secondary	84	50	43	34
Higher	12	40	26	18
Non-formal	4	5	17	24
Total:	100	100	100	100
By Curricula:				
General and diversified	44	42	34	35
Technical and commerical	25	30	41	33
Agriculture	19	15	11	11
Teacher training	12	12	12	9
Management	-	-	1	8
Health and population	-	1	1	4
Total:	100	100	100	100
By Outlay:				
Construction	69	49	48	44
Equipment	28	43	39	35
Technical assistance	3	8	13	21
Total:	100	100	100	100
By Scope:				
General institutional development -				
Learning materials and media	na	2	2	12
Curriculum development	na	1	2	3
Planning and management	na	1	3	6
Specific schools and training institutions	na	96	93	79
Total:	na	100	100	100

na not available

\- Zero or negligible

\+ Excludes project-related and education components in multisectoral projects.

"...where the only purpose of primary education is to enter secondary education, and the only purpose of secondary education is to enter higher education - as fast and as immediately as possible... This is neither academically necessary nor socially desirable. It is not academically or pedagogically necessary because modern biogenetic research tells us that 80 per cent of the intelligence base of a human being is formed before age 8, so that the subsequent 15-20 long years of schooling and college add a mere 20 per cent to that base - and of course masses of technical information. It is, therefore, necessary for all to have a sound broad initial learning opportunity involving pre-primary and primary education up to age 14 or 17" (16).

From this point of view, the World Bank priority on primary and non-formal education is well deserved.

b) New curricula such as management and health training which reflect the need of the hour will get support without seriously reducing the importance of other sectors.

c) Technical assistance which since 1963 had a low priodity, will get higher lending allocation though construction will still remain the largest area for loan assistance. The larger allocation for technical assistance undoubtedly reflects a new emphasis on the qualitative aspects of education projects.

d) Non-physical components such as financing of educational planning, curriculum development, production of training materials, etc., will now receive higher priority. This certainly helps in broadening the perception and will promote a more integrated and holistic educational development. From the point of view of educational planners of developing countries, the increasing accent on software faculties, such as economic planning and management of education, is a welcome development.

37. Basic education: What is encouraging, from the point of view of developing countries, is the Bank's accent on expansion of basic education opportunities for both school-age and adult population as such opportunities, it has been observed, "are closely related to its efforts to promote a broad approach to development and its desire to assist in meeting basic human needs". In actual practice the priorities may not emerge, because the "software" tasks are challenging and often involve taking decisions which have far-reaching and long-term professional and financial implications. Spending on less ostentatious programmes, which are dispersed over large areas and vast segments of population, is neither attractive nor challenging enough for an educational administrator, who believes in maintenance (which ensures his security) and does not want to be development-oriented and innovative, as it makes heavy demands on his time, ingenuity,

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16 Adiseshiah, Malcolm S., "Access, relevance and employment relation and higher education dimensions of NIEO (New International Economic Order)," Paris, IIEP, April 12, 1979. IIEP/RP/13-C.S.43A.

and professional competence, and the rewards are uncertain. Results are being largely invisible, the impact a matter of time, interest is at its lowest ebb. Often mass-based programmes such as expansion of primary education and eradicating illiteracy lack prestige value when compared to such visible projects as building a secondary or a technical school, a college or a university. Still, the change in the priorities as reflected in the proposed allocation of funds is welcome.

38. Slow but sure impact: The Bank will have to work hard to keep its promise of egalitarianism; at the same time it will be good for it to remember that small doses of loans for some isolated programmes will not change educational systems in developing countries suddenly. At this stage it would be appropriate to cite the instance of the Functional Literacy Project of India, which started its operation in 1967-68. It had a very slow beginning, starting with 3 districts, and in 1978-79 was being implemented in 146 districts out of 400 districts, with a total of 888,660 learners. This project was one of the Unesco-sponsored Experimental World Literacy Programmes, in the sixties, and received marginal technical assistance from UNDP, FAO and Unesco for a few years. While the total cost of the integrated project of Farmers Training Functional Literacy (Functional Literacy was one of the components; the other two were Farmer's Training and Farm Broadcasting) was US$4.3 million, the UNDP assistance was of the order of US$0.15 million, i.e. 3.3 per cent of the total expenditure, mostly for equipment, fellowships and a few experts. The assistance was for about 3 to 4 years. The author's analysis, embodied in a recent document, (17) confirms this. The relevant paragraph is quoted below:

> "Finally, it would also be appropriate to mention that international collaboration through Unesco, FAO and UNDP with the national effort in initiating this project, in the earlier phase, was instrumental in developing a pilot-stage project into a national-scale movement. This is one of the instances where welcome intervention of international agencies was eventually responsible for developing a programme which has now been incorporated into the national development plan as a high-priority item" (Page 31).

This project, rechristened as the Rural Functional Literacy Project, has now been incorporated into the bigger programme called the National Adult Education Programme (NAEP) initiated by the Government of India in 1978. In fact the Ministry of Education Annual Report of 1978-79, submitted to the Indian Parliament, calls the Functional Literacy Project a "pacesetter". The author can quote many instances where small innovative pilot projects implemented with international assistance have been forerunners of massive national programmes. The World Bank will have to wait for many many years to see the projects, sponsored by them, bear fruit. Moneylenders are often keen to see that their investments bear immediate fruits - but lending for education is a long-term investment. The Bank's perseverence may be tested but they should not desist from funding programmes of basic education which include primary and non-formal education for the

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17 Saraf, S.N., Functional literacy project of India - a decade of evaluation. Paris, IIEP, 1980 (Lecture-Discussion Series No. 97).

deprived children and illiterate adults.

39. In sum, the Bank's lending policy now reflects the right priorities for the developing countries. It took more than 18 years for the World Bank to move towards this kind of educational mix. However, in the case of India, to give one instance, the imbalance in the distribution of outlays for Education between different sectors was somewhat restored after 22 years of planning, as will be seen from Table 4.

TABLE 4

Sector-wise distribution of outlay on Education in Five Year Plans

(Percentages)

Sector	First Plan 1951-56	Second Plan 1956-61	Third Plan 1961-66	Annual Plans 1966-69	Fourth Plan 1969-74	Fifth Plan 1974-79	Sixth Plan 1978-83
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Elem.Educ.	55	34	37	23	31	32	45
Sec.Educ.	13	18	16	17	14	19	14
Univ.Educ.	9	17	15	24	22	23	13
Adult Educ.	3	2	+	1	1	1	10
Culture	++	1	2	1	2	3	3
Tech.Educ.	14	18	25	25	15	12	9
Other prog.	6	10	5	9	15	10	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Outlay in Absolute figures (Rs.Mlln.)	1,690	2,770	5,600	3,210	8,220	12,850	19,860

+ Insignificant ++ Included under other Programmes

The figures indicate that the priorities laid down in the First Plan got distorted and the outlay on mass education programmes, namely elementary and adult education, in terms of percentage of total outlay on education was being reduced. This imbalance has been largely reduced in the original

Sixth Plan (1978-83) (18). The extent to which there will be any deviation from these priorities in the new Sixth Plan (1980-85) which is being formulated cannot be foreseen at this stage.

40. The main problem about which one needs to be exercised is to what extent the World Bank priorities are converted into implementable projects. This depends on:

a) the degree of national collaboration in their preparation,

b) the extent to which World Bank advice in terms of experts and missions resists the temptation of designing models and formula and suggesting recipes which have hardly any relevance to the socio-economic and political environment. The experts, while giving advice, have to ponder whether they will use "the classical methods" of the sixties in the changed conditions of today. In the past, many a well formulated and designed project withered away because it was not capable of being grafted on to the national system,

c) whether the educational mix accords with the individual requirements of the country. The mix in Table 3 represents aggregates only; its country-wise break-up, it is assumed, will not follow the global standardised form.

41. Non-formal education. The World Bank, very appropriately, is now for the first time institutionalising and also formalising non-formal education by showing definite allocation of funds for this level (19). Can we call it a level or a sub-sector? It is like cosmos, which is indivisible and cannot be divided into small segments and sectors. The question for a practical planner and manager arises. Why do we label non-formal education as non-formal - a negative connotation, like non-cooperation, non-violence, non-proliferation, non-alignment, etc.? This is creating problems in developing countries. The rural poor think - and rightly so - that formal education is for the middle and upper classes. The formal schooling and education "continue to educate for poverty". It needs to be recognised and realised that formal education is non-functional, elitist and non-egalitarian. A time has come to call it so; if mass education has to become universal, non-formal education has to expand at an accelerated pace. There is a school of thought which would like to label non-formal

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18 It may be an interesting exercise for the IIEP, with assistance from World Bank, to initiate cross-country studies to examine trends in the allocation of developmental outlay under Education between different sectors - at least in the case of ten to fifteen developing countries during the last two decades. The objective would be to study whether mass education programmes are receiving the necessary priority.

19 In Table 8, page 51, of the earlier document, Education Sector Working Paper, World Bank, December 1974, the entry Non-Formal does not exist. There is an entry: primary and basic; in the present document the word "basic" has been removed and there is only "primary". However, Non-Formal has been added; perhaps it replaces the word "basic".

education as functional education and formal education as non-functional. To reinforce this view, I would like to quote from a paper (20) by Dr. Linda Dove presented to the Seminar. The argument is relevant because it refers to an on-going programme in a developing country.

> "I am absolutely sure that both the Government of Bangladesh and the World Bank are correct in identifying basic education as the most important need in the Bangladesh education system. I am not so sure, however, that mass basic education will be most efficiently achieved through the formal schooling. Certainly, if all children to enter the UPE (Universal Primary Education) programme were to follow a curriculum on present lines, a functional and relevant education would not be the outcome. Thus Bangladesh is likely to have to live for sometime yet with a UPE programme which involved high building and teacher costs, academic rather than functional curricula and teaching-learning methods which evolve only so fast as teachers can cope with changes. The point is that formal school on dysfunctional lines is likely to continue for a good few years yet. It will be no more efficient nor effective than at present until, slowly, it is able to adapt to succesful methods generated by the World Bank experiment and any others available" (Emphasis mine)

The educational world of the developing countries will have to work hard to concretise worthwhile non-formal education programmes of the right type which are real alternative channels for developing mass education. A new terminology will have to be devised to make non-formal education acceptable. In developing countries, the formal sector of education is infinitely small, yet it pervades and overwhelms because of vested interests. The school system, as it exists, is not a malleable instrument and the traditions of those who manage and man it, as well as the interests and expectations of those whose children go through it, are far too entrenched to be amenable to the radical changes needed. About 70 per cent of the population in the developing world is unaffected by formal education. There is a large non-formal sector which needs to be developed. The World Bank and Unesco will have to spell out the strategy in depth, and help in conceptual clarity of the whole area of non-formal education. Ultimately, the distinction between formal and non-formal education should cease to exist. This is possible, for instance, by bringing the institutional infrastructure of all the developmental departments, referred to earlier, within the boundaries of education, modernising these and building bridges between the formal and non-formal sectors, and allowing the vertical mobility by developing educational staircases.

42. "Why low-cost?": In passing one would like to reflect on the World Bank's statement: "those countries that have low primary enrolment and work under severe financial constraints will be encouraged to review and revise their educational structures to meet the need for low-cost basic education". Often the developing countries misunderstand words like "low-cost

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20 "How the World Bank can contribute to basic education given formal schooling will not go away" by Linda A. Dove, London University Institute of Education, May 1980.

education"; they feel it is meant for them and high-cost basic education is for the rich. This kind of caste system - at least calling it "low-cost" basic education - will be self-defeating and may indicate that it is meant for "low-caste" sections of the population. One would wish for better terminology to bring out the real implications though the intentions are known and clear! Why not appropriate-cost education?

43. World Bank lending policy - need for flexibility: Some countries do not consider favourably the World Bank assistance for education, mainly because they do not like to finance recurring expenditure from loans. Recurring expenditure becomes a commitment and without the prospect of generation of national and local resources, which can take care of recurring liabilities, some governments naturally are reluctant to borrow. It is precisely because of this that a country such as India is reluctant to go in for loans for general education projects which, by and large, are of a recurrent nature. Further, the question is asked: what will the Bank supply which the nation itself cannot supply? For instance, the total Government expenditure on Education in India (central and state governments combined) in 1979-80 was of the order of Rs.35,000 million (1 US$ = about Rs.7.8) and every year it increases at the rate of 18 per cent. At present, for the country as a whole, it forms over 12 per cent of total government expenditure. In some states it is about 40 per cent of the total government expenditure and the lowest is about 16 per cent. Any external assistance for this kind of massive recurring expenditure can, at best, be a drop in the ocean. The position may be similar in some other countries as well. How the World Bank can stimulate major innovative educational developments in such countries is an area for serious study.

44. Regarding the criteria of a good educational aid project, the author is prompted to quote from Mr. Phillips' book (21) though written in 1973, because what he says is relevant and needs reiteration:

> "Criteria of a good educational aid project would seem to be: that it should be clearly requested by the recipient country and meet a defined area which cannot be met domestically, quantitively or qualitively; that it should be carefully related to the recipient country's resources as well as to its needs; that new institutions or methods introduced should be of a kind which it is within the power of the recipient country to keep up when the aid terminates; that it should have a catalytic effect, which means that it must have the necessary critical mass and duration to have a sizeable impact (alone or through complementarity with other aid projects), and not to peter out; also it should take care not only of the direct needs but of those created by the repercussions of the direct aid (package projects).
>
> Conversely, aid which generates recurrent expenditure which the national budget cannot afford should be avoided; pilot projects should not be at a level of sophistication and

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21 Planning Educational Assistance for the Second Development Decade, by H.M.Phillips, Paris, Unesco: IIEP, 1973. (Fundamentals of Educational Planning, No. 18).

expensiveness which prevents them from being propagated more widely; loans and credits should not place an undue debt burden on the recipient country; aid programmes should not overload the recipient with administrative work which it is not in a position to undertake because the projects are too complicated or too innovatory. Also from the standpoint of the donor, aid has normally to be identifiable in terms of its sources (the taxpayer or private contributor likes to see his effort ascribed to him). Further, in the interest of all concerned, it should have a mechanism of evaluation incorporated into it.

It is also desirable that the project be coordinated with the efforts of other aid suppliers in the recipient country" (Page 61)

Since the World Bank has now moved in the direction of aid for 'software', some criteria indicated above may not be amenable to strict application but the statement, as a whole, needs to be considered with all seriousness.

45. The situation in some of the developing countries is somewhat more acute because the growth rates, postulated in the plans, do not take place and there is constant pressure on resources, meagre or otherwise, from many competitive sectors. For instance, questions are raised as to whether resources should be allocated to literacy or to housing or to food production. This is in spite of the fact that literacy and rural housing are important components of the minimum needs programme! The World Bank has to anticipate this dilemma, perhaps work out a more flexible policy of financing. They must also devise proper strategies to help the countries in their participation in the Bank's activities. The Government's capacity to continue the reform or the project, beyond the World Bank assistance period, has to be assessed. Otherwise, there is a danger that the World Bank Projects will come and go without making any worth-while impact. In this sense, the World Bank's initiatives in supporting general institutional development, planning and management and training institutions, have considerable seed value; a step in the direction of generating self-reliance, helping the developing countries in moving towards the "take off" stage.

46. Bank stimulation for innovation: The Bank finances less than 10% of total educational budgets in developing countries. This is insignificant by any measure especially when it is generally known that education budgets in developing countries are underprovided and are actually shoestring budgets. Further, the crucial points to be considered are: whether the Bank lending is only a mechanism of filling up budgetary gaps for continuing programmes or for innovations? Whether the assistance has led to self-reliance and enabled the countries to reach the take-off stage? The Bank has touched upon these issues cursorily though for the first time they have attempted to present an X-ray picture of their operations. The World Bank has realised the inevitable necessity for a continuing dialogue between the Bank and its member countries; the realization has deepened that educational needs, among developing countries, are diverse and, therefore, policies and strategies depend largely on local conditions and cannot be fitted into a strait-jacket global pattern. In fact World Bank and

other aid-giving agencies should now increasingly hand over the responsibility for educational investment decisions to the national authorities, after in-depth analysis of the situation. The Bank has also felt the need for greater collaboration with professional institutions and experts in developing countries in order to be closer to reality. Through collaborative relationships, the role of the borrowers will increase gradually during the project cycle in activities where the leading part so far has been played by the Bank or other external agencies. The expectation is that as the capabilities of the borrower develop, identification, preparation and evaluation of projects would progressively become their responsibility. Bank's intervention seems to be moving the countries towards continuation of reforms and innovations.

Section 4

CONCLUSION: REALITY VERSUS MYTH

47. World Bank and applied education policy: The World Bank is undoubtedly an important and also a big international organization. Its operations in the area of educational development in terms of monetary allocations, the number of projects financed and countries covered, have been increasing since 1962. It may be financing less than 10 per cent of total educational budgets in developing countries which it assists, but its influence in shaping the contours of educational reforms and innovations cannot be underrated. Many instances can be quoted to indicate that external assistance, when based on the real needs and aspirations of a developing country, can stimulate a chain reaction of very healthy change and innovation. This can be true in any area of development. The World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper has to be viewed in this light. Dr. G. Psacharopoulos observes:

> "It represents the major - if not the only - explicit statement on applied educational policy in less-developed countries. It might not be an exaggeration to treat this paper as a modern Bible on educational development" (22)

48. Lead role of developing world: Third World countries are now aware that for the period 1978-83, average annual lending for education by the World Bank would be US$905 million. This is a massive input. It can, and will, considerably influence the educational change in the Third World countries for more than a decade - even though the lending cycle will be over in 1983 - because the gestation period in educational projects has never been short-term. This, therefore, calls for a careful selection of projects for financing which really meet the emerging needs. The dialogue between the World Bank, Unesco and Third World countries has to be continuous. The Third World countries have to take the lead in the dialogue because it is the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches. It is they who will have to determine policies, projects and priorities. Fortunately the World Bank has realised this; it is for them to help the Third World countries to develop institutional planning and managing capacities so that, in course of time, dependence inevitably should be based on self-reliance and self-finance. That is how the World Bank can earn the gratitude of 800

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22 Psacharopoulos, George, "The World Bank in the world of education - some policy changes and some remnants", Seminar in World Bank Education Policy, University of London Institute of Education, June 1980.

million (23) destitutes living in the Southern hemisphere of the World. Perpetual dependence on loans and credits has to end some day - the earlier the better. Some observe: who lends, who borrows! That is true to a large extent but it is equally true that aid sometimes props up the insupportable and saps self-reliance. But careful and timely investment in education and training will, in the long run, among other things, be a solution to World poverty. To attain this objective, the World Bank will have to review its Education Sector Policy document continuously and effect changes after these mid-term appraisals. In education, there is no 'one-shot' go.

49. Development - the centre-piece: The World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper may not have referred specifically to the value of education in developing human capacities, or the importance of cultural identity and good citizenship or giving a wide- interpretation of the broader functions of education in society and how it impinges on the ways of life and the aspirations of learners etc. While this is true, it has to be recognized that the World Bank is a Bank and not Unesco or a charitable foundation. To give real meaning to human resource development through education, the World Bank and Unesco will have to march together and keep in tune with the pace of the Third World countries. Development cannot be made easy, and cannot come from above in sweet capsules. Fortunately, the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper makes this clear without any shadow of a doubt.

50. Formal schooling - impediment to development: The World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper has indeed raised fundamental questions about the adequacy or otherwise of the Northern model of formal schooling. In its next document it should have the courage of conviction to challenge vehemently the time-honoured and western-based concepts and ideas about formal education and their relevance as a panacea for the social and economic ills of the Third World. If it accepts this challenge, it will be the best contribution to policy- making; perhaps more important than lending money for educational projects of doubtful utility within the emerging perspectives of the eighties and nineties. The educational crisis, talked about earlier, has now assumed the form of educational disaster. This has to be perceived sooner rather than later.

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23 Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, Chairman, International Jury in the area of Adult Education and Literacy Unesco, in his statement on International Day, 8 September 1980, at Unesco Headquarters in Paris, observed:

> "It is not an accident that the 800 million illiterates in our World coincide almost identically and tragically with the 800 million of what the World Bank calls the World's destitutes. Equally it is no accident that these 800 million live in the Southern hemisphere".

Appendix A

I.I.E.P.'S PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES AND WORLD BANK EDUCATION SECTOR PRIORITIES

1. In view of its mandate, the Institute's training and research activities do not follow a single pattern but are indeed a reflection of the variety of national experiments and reforms particularly in developing countries. The training activities, comprising the annual training programme, short specialised courses, the visiting fellows programme, specialised seminars, assistance to national training institutions, which reflect the wide range and richness of the training programmes of the Institute, provide an important means of reviewing national experiences and current trends in educational policy. In the annual training programme the participants, who come from developing countries, are helped to define their own particular training needs. In the session 1979-80, as an innovation the trainees were assisted in developing a practical simulation exercise of four countries. The accent was on diagnosis of the situation and formulation of alternative plans based on various assumptions. This will be continued in 1980-81 and in the future as well.

2. The main theme of the Institute's research programmes is on educational reform. Several studies are undertaken to examine in depth the new tasks which the preparation, implementation and evaluation of policies of reform demand from administration and planning. The choice of this theme reflects a desire to orient the Institute's research in a direction corresponding as closely as possible to the needs of Member States, nearly all of whom are committed to renovation strategies for their educational system. This is again in line with the World Bank's accent on developing need-based educational requirements of developing countries.

3. Besides educational reform, which is the main theme for research work, the other significant areas of research at the Institute are:

a) Reduction of inequalities.

b) Educational micro-planning,

c) Education system, the world of work and the labour market,

d) Educational administration.

The areas of studies and researches developed by the Institute so far and projected in the Medium-Term Plan for 1979-83, correspond closely with the areas of possible research and studies indicated in various chapters of the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper. An expanded programme of educa-

tional research and experimentation does contribute to better educational management by clarifying issues, defining objectives and evaluating experiences, if it is done at the individual country level.

4. The Institute makes a systematic effort, in all its activities, to co-operate with national institutions and devotes adequate attention and resources to the effective dissemination of the results of its activities.

Appendix B

WORLD BANK STUDIES AND REPORTS ON EDUCATION

1. **Basic education and income inequality in Brazil: the long-term view.** Jean-Pierre Jallade. June 1977. 75p. (incl. appendix, statistical annex). (WP268)

   Examines how investment in basic education affects incomes and asseses to what extent government involvement in the financing of education and taxing the returns to education helps achieve a more equitable income distribution. Suggests that education in itself cannot significantly reduce income inequality, that government policies in this respect do not show a clear redistribution pattern, and that other effective policies could be employed to reduce income inequality.

2. **The economic cost of the "internal" brain drain: its magnitude in developing countries.** Sebastian Pinera and Marcelo Selowsky. September 1976 80p. (incl. 4 appendices, references). (WP243)

   The central notion of the paper is the hypothesis of factor complementarity between preschool ability and education in determining the productivity of an individual. An educational system where the amount of schooling is determined by factors other than preschool ability, i.e., family income, induces a misallocation of the exiting educational resources. The economic cost of the "internal" brain drain is the loss of value added in the existing system relative to the optimal system where students are only selected according to abilities. This economic loss is substantial if compared with other estimates of resource misallocation in developing countries.

3. **Education.**
   December 1974. 73p. (incl. 10 annex tables). Print. English, Spanish. (Sector Working Paper)

   Describes worldwide trends in educational development during the period 1950-70, and summarizes the state of education throughout the world at the beginning of the 1970s. Examines the particular problems confronting developing countries and focuses on the Bank's educational lending policies and programs for the period 1974-78.

4. **Educational effects of class size.**
Wadi' D. Haddad with Francisco Ruiz. June 1978. 17p. (incl. refrences). (WP280)

Relates research results to such questions as whether pupils learn better in small or large classes; whether educational benefits of smaller classes justify the additional cost; and whether an optimum class size would maximize educational benefits and cost-effectiveness. The conclusion indicates that teacher class room behaviour and attitudes are more important than class size and that, without a statistical basis for an optimum class size, decisions on this issue are bound by fiscal and curriculum considerations.

5. **Educational reform in the Soviet Union: implications for developing countries.** Irene Blumenthal and Charles Bensen. May 1978. viii, 102 p. (incl. 11 tables, selected bibliogrpahy). (WP288)

Examines the causes and consequences of educational reform in the Soviet Union and draws lessons for developing countries that are the utilitarian nature of Soviet education; the complementary or alternative use of nonformal or informal education; the willingness to launch education programmes with minimal resources, the equalization of education throughout the country and universal literacy in the native tongue, even in a multinational society, the view that neglecting education for women is wasteful and likely to retard economic development and education. Part of the research project on "Economic Development and Educational Reform" (Ref. No. 671-19).

6. **Guidelines for school location planning.**
William T. S. Gould. November 1978, iii, 103 p. (incl. 4 appendices). (WP308)

Presents guidelines for the methodology to be used and the criteria to be applied for locating schools as a means of distributing educational opportunities in terms of both equity and efficiency and of maximizing the utilization of facilities, teachers, and other inputs. Strategies for improving the access to education of the disadvantaged rural poor by serving areas out of range of existing schools are discussed and programs in four projects financed by the World Bank are described.

7. **Major reforms of the Swedish education system: 1950-1975.**
Arnold J. Heidenheimer. August 1978. 96p. (incl. footnotes, bibliography). (WP 290)

Reviews the nature of the extensive educational reforms in Sweden, identifies the major reasons for them, and explores their consequences and their impact on the labor market. Explains that Sweden has gone farthest of the European countries in disassembling traditional education institutions, is relatively unique in having instituted the reform components systematically in stages, and has been able to maximize the goals of equality and efficiency in its new schools and universities.

8. **A note on preschool-age investment in human capital in developing countries.** Selowsky. Reprinted from 'Economic Development and Cultural Change' 24 (July 1976): 707-720. (Reprint 32)

Explores the hypothesis whether developing countries are over-investing in formal schooling relative to what might be called preschool-age investment in human capital, basically early nutrition and environmental stimulation. To the extent there is complementarity between these two types of investment, the future effectiveness of investing in schooling will depend heavily on present investment in preschool age. The paper reviews the evidence and suggests further research to test its importance.

9. **Patterns of educational expenditures.**
Manuel Zymelman. November 1976. 81 p. (WP246)

Presents data on educational expenditures of developing countries and OECD countries and their allocation by levels of education. Also analyzes expenditures by each level of education in terms of unit costs, enrollment rates, and the proportion of school-age population, and compares expenditure patterns of different geographic regions.

10. **Radio for education and development: case studies.**
Peter L. Spain, Dean T. Jamison, and Emile G. McAnany. May 1977. v.1-ix, 198 p. (incl. references). v.2-v, 260 p. (incl. references). (WP266)

In view of renewed interest in radio's potential for education and development, this working paper describes radio's use for in-school education, for formal education out of school, for nonformal education, and for interactive development communications. Volume 1 presents case studies for in-school radio projects in Nicaragua, Mexico, Indonesia, Kenya, and the Dominican Republic. Volume 11 deals with nonformal education projects in Honduras, Tanzania, Senegal,

the Canadian North, and Alaska, as well as general considerations related to rural development, communication techniques, and program planning.

11. Retention of cognitive skills acquired in primary school.
John Simmons. Reprinted from 'Comparative Education Review' 20 (February 1976): 79-93. (Reprint 35)

Explores the extent to which individuals with six grades of schooling improve or decline in their cognitive abilities after being out of school for some time and discusses several reasons for and the implications of the variance in retention, using data from an urban sample of Tunisian workers aged 15 to 25. Also reviews the quantitative literature on retention in some detail.

12. Teacher training and student achievement in less developed countries Torsten Husen, Lawrence J. Saha, and Richard Noonan. December 1978. ii, 133 p. (incl. annex, bibliography). (WP310)

Reviews the large body of reseach on the complex relationship between teacher characteristics and student performance and presents a reanalysis of data collected in India and Chile by the International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA), which attempts to assess the direct and indirect effects of teacher competence and potential effects of teacher education. Concludes that teacher education makes a difference, particularly in developing countries.

13. Textbooks and achievement: what we know.
Stephen P. Heyneman, Joseph P. Farrell, and Manuel A. Sepulveda-Stuardo. October 1978. 36p. (incl. references, appendix). (WP298)

Reviews the relationship between the availability of textbooks and academic achievement in less industrialized societies on the basis of data for 12 countries. Evidence shows that books are the most consistent school factor in predicting academic achievement, implying that reading materials hold a distinct advantage in obtaining best results in the process of learning. This paper also discusses areas for future research and evaluation.

14. The World Bank and education projects.
February 1979. 21 p. (incl. 4 annexes). English, French, Spanish.

A guide specifically for governments interested in securing World Bank assistance for the development of their education and training systems. Outlines what kinds of education

projects are assisted with World Bank finance, how such projects are put together, what steps borrowers should take to expedite processing of World Bank supported projects, and what research projects on important issues of education are sponsored by the World Bank.

15. Education, employment probabilities, and rural-urban migration in Tanzania. H.W.Barnum and Richard H. Sabot. Reprinted from 'Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics' 39. (May 1977): 109-126. (Reprint 49).

Estimates and urban migration function for Tanzania and demonstrates the empirical validity of urban employment probability as a determinant of migration. The paper also demonstrates that the education selectivity of the migrant stream is due both to wider income differentials for the more educated and to greater responsiveness to a given differential.

16. The employment impact of industrial investment: a preliminary report. Joseph J. Stern. June 1977. 72 p. (incl. 2 appendices). (WP255)

Discusses conceptual issues and measurement techniques to identify the indirect effects of industrial investment, with particular attention to input-output analysis, for estimating indirect employment as a result of forward and backward linkages from industrial investments. Numerical estimates of indirect employment effects are given at the industrial branch level and are shown to be significant.

17. Attacking rural poverty: how non-formal education can help. Philip H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed.

Focuses on educational efforts, outside the formal school system, offering potential for rural development, to increase skills and productivity of farmers, craftsmen, and small entrepreneurs.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974; 2nd printing, 1978. xvi + 292 pages (including 3 appendixes, references, index). Spanish: La lucha contra la probreza rural: el aporte de la educacion no formal. Editorial tecnos, 1975.

18. Cost-benefit analysis in eduction: a case study of Kenya. Hans Heinrich Thias and Martin Carnoy.

Attempts to measure the benefits of various types of education in monetary terms, and to assess to role of earnings in the demand for and supply of educated people in a country.

World Bank Staff Occasional Papers, Number 14. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972. xv + 193 pages (including 5 annexes, bibliography).

19. **The economic evaluation of vocational training programs.** Manuel Zymelman.

> Provides a methodology for appraising the cost effectiveness of alternative methods of industrial training in developing countries and reviews the economic and institutional factors affecting the choice of programs.

World Bank Staff Occasional Papers, Number 21. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976. xi + 122 pages (including chart, 3 appendixes, bibliography). Spanish: Programas de formacion profesional: su evaluacion economica. Editorial Tecnos, 1977.

20. **Education programs and projects: analytical techniques, case studies and exercises.** Irving A. Sirken.

> Part 1: Education planning - projecting student enrollments, teacher requirements, and costs. Part 11: Financial education. Part 111: Implementation of education projects. Part 1V: Economic apopraisal of education projects. A second volume gives the solutions to the exercises which are included in each of the four parts of the main volume. For institutions of individuals in or from developing countries, special arrangements may be made with EDI for distribution at reduced prices or without charge.

World Bank (EDI), January 1977; revised edition, 1979. ix + 278 pages. (Available from ILS).

21. Public expenditure on education and income distribution in Columbia Jean-Pierre Jallade.

> Focuses on the impact of education expenditures on income distribution, examines the allocation of educational benefits among various population groups, and also considers the distributional effects on taxes that pay for public subsidies in general.

World Bank Staff Occasional Papers, Number 18. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. xvi + 74 pages (incl. 2 annexes, bibliography).

22. **Fertility and education: what do we really know?**
Susan Hill Cochrane

Reviews the effect of education on fertility in developing countries. The first half of the book develops a model identifying the many channels through which education might act to determine fertility. The second half reviews the evidence of the relationship between education and the intervening variables in the model that affect fertility. This shows that education is associated with some factors that increase and some that decrease the biological supply of children or natural fertility, and that education also has positive and negative effects on the demand for children, but the negative effects tend to predominate. Education's strongest and most consistent effect is on the knowledge of, attitude towards, and use of contraception. These multiple channels through which education affects fertility explain why more education is sometimes associated with higher fertility and sometimes with lower fertility.

World Bank Staff Occasional Papers, Number 26. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979. About 192 pages.

23. **Malnutrition and poverty: magnitude and policy options.**
Shlomo Reutlinger and Marcelo Selowsky.

Presents the results of a first large research effort in the World Bank to determine the global dimension of malnutrition. The conclusion is that malnutrition is unlikely to disappear in the normal course of development. Only policies deliberately designed to reallocate food programs for target groups in urban areas and aimed at assisting low-income farm families to increase and stabilize food production for their own consumption can be more cost-effective than outright income distribution.

World Bank Staff Occasional Papers, Number 23. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976; 2nd printing, 1978. xii + 82 pages (including 5 appendixes).

24. **The assault on world poverty: problems of rural development, education, and health.**

A compilation of sector policy papers on rural development, agricultural credit, land reform, education, and health, attempting to analyze the causes of poverty, to examine ways in which poverty can be alleviated, and to outline programs for World Bank assistance.

25. **World Bank operations: sectoral programs and policies.**

A compilation of Working Papers on ten major sectors of World Bank activity: agriculture, education, electric power, industry, population planning, telecommunications, tourism, transportation, urbanization, and water supply and sewerage.

OCCASIONAL PAPER No.57 : For a variety of reasons, the World Bank's Education Sector Policy Paper, April 1980 is an outstanding document; it examines with hard facts and figures the current state of educational development, highlights major emerging areas of concern and presents a bold strategy likely to have long term implications.

This paper reflects on some significant aspects of World Bank's approach to and priorities in the area of education. Several initiatives taken so far and projected policies and programmes have been studied from the point of view of an educational planner of the Third World. It is evident that the Bank has to continue its search for finding relevant answers to basic issues in policy formation and project implementation; Bank's operations have to be a true reflection of its aspirations to attack poverty at its roots.

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Dr. Saraf has represented his country in many high-level international forums and has been author of several publications and reports on educational planning and administration.